

# PEACE NEWS

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## WHAT WILL FOLLOW PARIS DEADLOCK?

### A Federal W. Germany is feasible

**T**HE deadlock reached by the conference of Foreign Ministers is now complete, and frightening: for the inevitable consequence must be a progressive degeneration of the condition of Central Europe. Moreover, the ugly fact is that the Powers are behaving on the assumption that war is to be expected—and in the not very distant future. It is no use criticising them for it. No other assumption is practically possible, nations being what they are.

It would be dishonest to imply that the Great Powers are all equally to blame. Russia is determined to exploit her power-situation to the uttermost. USA and Britain are faced with the plain alternative of giving way, or resisting. Negotiation, in the accepted sense of the term, is ruled out.

#### Seven out of eight

**T**HE most lamentable of all the sombre happenings at the Conference was the complete collapse of the attempted discussions about Germany. Molotov gave a point-blank refusal to the proposals of Byrnes and Bevin, of which Bevin's was the more promising; but either would have opened the possibility of progress. Mr. Bevin said:

"I move that we appoint special deputies to examine the whole problem of Germany: to study the implementation of the decisions of the Berlin conference; to study proposals leading up to the preparation of a peace treaty and the fixing of frontiers; to take into account the views expressed at this conference; and to present an interim report at our meeting on June 15."

It seems perfectly reasonable, but

### Observer's Commentary

Molotov said "No" to it. He had previously said "No" to the proposal that the Austrian settlement should be discussed at the conference, and indicated that he would not be prepared to discuss it next month. One bit of "peace-making" that the Conference did manage to agree upon was the iniquitous proposal that the Southern Tyrol—Mussolini's robbery—should be retained by Italy.

"It can be said without exaggeration that of the eight principles of the Atlantic Charter seven were flatly contradicted during the conference. The eighth remains inviolate only because they did not come to it." (Manchester Guardian, May 18).

#### Industry and corruption

**O**NE hopeful initiative was taken by Byrnes, when he said that USA was not willing to continue dismantling factories in their zone until the larger questions had been answered. On this The Times (May 18), which now seems to have realized that its previous policy of appeasement of Russia has completely failed, comments:

"Continuation of the present policy would be even more disastrous in the highly industrialized British zone; and Mr. Byrnes' initiative will scarcely be overlooked by British authorities in search of sources of export from the British zone to meet the costly programme of imports entailed by its maintenance even at the present level of famine and stagnation."

That is plain commonsense. But in considering the problem of making the wheels of industry revolve once

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### As German food supply nears exhaustion

## Britain doubles her allocation from stocks

Plans for a world food administration, to be set up by September, which would control UNRRA, the Combined Food Board and other international food organisations, were laid before the opening session this week of the Washington conference called by Sir John Boyd Orr, Director General of the FAO. Only Russia and the Argentine of the eligible countries did not send delegates.

**S**O desperate is the plight of the German people that the British Government is sending immediately 20,000 tons of potatoes and 20,000 tons of barley to the British zone. In addition, Mr. Herbert Morrison has announced that a second 200,000 tons of wheat is to be diverted from stock to help feed Europe in the coming summer months, bringing the total up to 400,000 tons.

**M**EANWHILE reports of hundreds of hungry men, women and children raiding potato trains arriving in the districts of the Ruhr from Holland and Belgium add poignancy to the European scene. Some inhabitants in the Ruhr have had no potato ration for four months. Existing ration scales of bread, it has since been announced officially, are to be maintained until June 25.

Altogether Sir Ben Smith has agreed to send a total of 80,000 tons of potatoes to Germany, and after the first consignment of barley, weekly supplies of 10,000 tons each will be sent in the next five weeks.

In refusing Mr. Stokes' request to release another 500,000 tons of food of all descriptions for the benefit of Europe, Sir Ben Smith went on to state that Britain had sent some 1,400,000 tons of foodstuffs to liberated Europe since D-Day. Stocks of food and feeding stuffs in or controlled by the Ministry at the beginning of this month were 3,806,000 tons, which is about 125,000 tons less than a month earlier and over 1,000,000 tons lower than at the beginning of this year.

In an earlier debate in the Commons Mr. Michael Foot declared: "In the next two or three months this country,

### FOOD FOR EUROPE — AT A PRICE!

**A**LTHOUGH, after many public protests, it is still the government's policy not to permit private individuals to send food to starving civilians in Europe, advertisements are now appearing in London inviting you to send food, soap, cigarettes and dress material for civilian relief in Europe—at a price!

It is not clear how it has been possible to overcome the food regulations in this way but on inquiry at the offices of the company Peace News was informed that food is not sent from this country but direct from the British Empire, particularly South Africa.

Apart from food, a length of printed artificial silk for a lady's dress, may be sent to Belgium, France, Holland, Luxembourg, Poland or the USSR for 74s. All prices quoted include packing, postage and registration, it is stated, while in some cases advice of delivery to "our sender overseas" and insurance is also covered.

To quote the company's free brochure: "Satisfactory proof of loss must be furnished in the form of the original letter from the consignee, together with the envelope in which it was mailed, and an affidavit certifying that the letter is an authentic communication from the consignee."

Rationed goods like fats, soap and sweets may also be sent. Parcel No. 92, for example, containing:

- 1lb. Chocolate;
- 1lb. Cocoa;
- 1lb. Coffee;
- 1lb. Viennese Sausages; and
- 1lb. Margarine

which may be sent to a civilian in Belgium, France, Finland or Luxembourg at a cost of 42s.

This commercial undertaking, which has no known connection with any of the voluntary relief organizations, is the Express Shipping and Travel Service (London) Ltd., 224, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2.

I claim, can do more to assist the food situation in the British zone than even the Americans."

Mr. Morrison's food discussions in Washington would only remedy the long term situation in Europe. Declaring that it was no use shelving the responsibility on to other nations Mr. Foot added: "We are responsible for the British zone and we have it in our power to remedy the food situation there."

President Truman's personal approach to Marshal Stalin seeking the co-operation of the USSR in supplying the famine areas is reported to have been rejected and it is significant that the majority of the American newspapers made no reference to the speech broadcast throughout the United States last week by Mr. Morrison.

At the same time a statement issued by the American Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimated that the American people are now eating 14 per cent. more food than they were in the average period between 1935-39.

The Chairman of the NFU Horticultural Committee told a press conference in London that he "saw slag heaps of lettuce in Holland. At one auction mart alone more than 1,000,000 were destroyed in three days."

Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the FAO of the United Nations, discussing the objects of the Famine Conference which opened in Washington on May 20, told the News Chronicle: "Only by world-wide conservation of this year's supplies, only by ensuring that what is available will be equitably shared, can we prevent casualty lists far in excess of those of the six years of war."

Insisting that the first essentials have got to be put into people's bellies, Sir John Boyd Orr expressed his conviction that we have to dispense entirely with the charity element. "The world cannot go on being a glorified soup kitchen, dependent on the caprices of sentiment and pious bounty."

In Tokyo last Sunday a crowd of 200,000 hunger-marchers demonstrated outside the Imperial Palace demanding rice. Afterwards a delegation of twelve were admitted to the grounds to confer with officials.

## Why conscription?

asks LAURENCE HOUSMAN

**I**T is quite true that the Atomic Bomb has made, not only conscription, but war itself an absurdity for any sane mind. But can Nations and Governments, caught in the trap of power-politics, adopt any course of action in which insanity is not the main ingredient? Without knowing how to escape from it, they have no moral basis for adopting any line of policy which may not lead to self-destruction.

Dimly, but unrepentantly, they are aware of it. Fear of the Atom Bomb haunts them; and they can see no way of escape from it except a way which they have not the moral sense to accept. It is a plain fact that, for the victorious nations, sound moral sense has become impossible of acceptance, because they have adopted a policy toward the defeated nations from which sound morality is ruled out.

**A**ND it is because it has been ruled out, that, for these so-called peace-loving nations, conscription remains a necessity. For they have imposed upon the defeated nations an enforced peace of unconditional surrender; and that surrender involves a military occupation, for an indefinite number of years, of two nations numbering scores of millions (with all initiative of recovery taken from them) which can only be enforced by military occupation on a scale which makes conscription a necessity. To keep those defeated nations in slavery, they must of necessity impose slavery on themselves—on themselves, that is to say, at a remove which makes it more morally indefensible: for they will impose it not upon those who are responsible for producing and accepting that policy, but on the rising generation which have had little or no hand in it.

In this country, which has accepted

that policy of an enslaving military occupation requiring conscription, conscription is very unpopular; and in its campaign against military conscription the PPU is in danger of acquiring a spurious popularity, by addressing its appeal not only to those who have a moral right to oppose it, but to those who have no moral right whatever; and if it tries to enlist the support of that majority of the electorate which approves of the military occupation of Germany and Japan—and its necessary accompaniment—it is doing something which is intellectually disingenuous to say the least: I might use a harder term.

**S**URELY the only straightforward and right way of stating the case, as it now stands, is to state it not popularly, but unpopularly, and tell all those responsible ones, who so much dislike conscription that they have brought it upon themselves, and that to hand over the burden of it to the rising generation—those who are least responsible for the policy which makes it necessary—is a vicarious sacrifice which has in it no virtue or moral justification—only the material excuse of "military necessity."

In this particular form of military necessity the Atomic Bomb will play no part. As it is quite impossible for those subjugated populations to become the possessors of it, it will also be impossible (or morally inconceivable) that it will be used against them by those who are depriving them of the "Four Freedoms" so necessary (one would have thought) for the "re-education" which they so badly need, and which the spectacle of a well-fed army of occupation imposing military rule on a starving and poverty-stricken people is bound to make futile.

**F**OR PPU propaganda the case against War has become stronger than ever. For those who support this monstrous exploitation of unconditional surrender the case against conscription is non-existent.

### A New World

**A**T the level of politics, agreement between the Great Powers seems more remote than ever. Is there any possibility of agreement between them at the level of dire human need? For at least five years to come, it is authoritatively said, millions of human beings will be in danger of starvation, which only a united effort of the nations can avert. The physical well-being of mankind is at stake.

Yet the terrible, inhuman and anti-human game of power-politics goes on, and is being played more savagely than ever before. Not only so, but in the very countries where millions are starving, the rich feast on luxuries. Outside the law-abiding countries, there is a complete breakdown of elementary human morality. Modern techniques have robbed the localities of their power of self-maintenance, yet they cannot be applied—because of man's moral backwardness—to the work of rescue.

The superficiality of man's conception of peace is being demonstrated daily. The world of peace must be conceived as a new world altogether—an utterly new social organization. Peace cannot be plastered on to the world that is. Peace News exists to set forth the implications and conditions of a peaceful world. Give it all the support you can.

#### THE EDITOR.

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## RESPONSIBILITY AND EXAMPLE

THE parliamentary debate on the British administration of Germany and Austria was long overdue. Even when it came, it was insufficient. But there was quite enough of it to be disheartening.

Six months ago, we were told by critical and trustworthy observers that the British army had done a remarkably good job of work in restoring order, and confidence in order, in the British zone. The wretched inhabitants, ground into apathy by obliteration bombing, could at least live. Now, we are told, by observers of the same calibre, that there has been a tragic deterioration of the situation, and of British reputation. And no less than three speakers, without official contradiction, condemned the degraded behaviour—the venality, corruption and oppression—of a very considerable number of British officials. It seems to be pretty well established that morally undesirable types—whether of officers who have succumbed to the temptations of looting and exploiting a defenceless population, or of civilians who have got wind of a profitable racket—are being employed by this country to exhibit to the Germans the superiority of the democratic way of life.

We do not underrate the appalling consequences of the Potsdam agreement. Iniquitous in itself, it was intended to be applied, with however harsh a justice, to a Germany that was a going concern. If that fundamental presupposition of the agreement had been satisfied, its more intolerable severities would have been mitigated and the tolerable ones endured. The Potsdam agreement was essentially an agreement to keep Germany in being; it has been deliberately used as a means of murdering her. It is the greatest crime against European civilization that has ever been committed. The consequence of this iniquity, as Mr. Pickthorn said, is that there is "a very serious risk of making democracy in Europe impossible for all time."

The only way we can contend against this danger which, if it comes to pass, will surely make democracy impossible in this country too, is by devoting the best energies we can spare to the rehabilitation of that part of Germany for which we bear direct responsibility. The only chance of a baffled and despairing Germany coming to believe in the democratic way is through the actual example of the British administrators in the British zone. It is, in fact, far more important that British Germany should be honourably governed than that Britain itself should be. And there is really not a moment to lose in adopting Capt. Crookshank's suggestion that a British pro-consul of the highest ability and standing with a staff of comparable qualifications, should be appointed to reorganize the British administration.

This purging of the British personnel in Germany is of far more consequence than the paraphernalia of abstract "education into democracy": it is at least of equal importance with the saving of the Germans from starvation. Britain is being submitted to an acid test. We are the government of the industrially most advanced and the spiritually most influential part of Germany. We deliberately assumed that responsibility when we adopted the policy of "unconditional surrender." Nothing can absolve us from it. At the present moment, by all the evidences, we are being "weighed in the balances and found wanting." If the Germans become cynical about Britain, then nihilism will be their only refuge. That their nihilism will take them to Communism is true enough; but it will be only the more nihilistic for that. The German officers who are enlisting in the Red Army are a clear warning of the end to which events will move, unless Britain can rise to her responsibility.

## HUXLEY and OURSELVES

## JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY concludes his review of an important new publication in U.S.A.

work for the application of science towards two major objectives. First, to ensure that all men, women and children get enough to eat. This can only be done by planning a world-wide campaign for greater food-production and regional self-sufficiency in food-production. Until nationalist passions have lost their present intensity, it is positively desirable that international trade should be reduced to a minimum. Second, to advocate and work for regional self-sufficiency in power. The invention and manufacture of an efficient battery for storing the electrical power produced by water, wind or sun, would provide a substitute for petroleum. Thus we should avoid the dangerous competition for the world's oil-resources; and the now even more dangerous competition for the supplies of uranium.

For these two objectives Huxley appeals for the co-operation of en-

lightened scientists. Moreover, they could refuse to work for the increase of centralized power for the capitalist or government minority. But he is dubious of the efficacy of any immediate positive action by scientists in the political field. Nationalism (he thinks) will triumph over their plans: e.g., for an international inspectorate of atomic research.

THAT is a fairly careful summary of Huxley's book. Its importance is that the analysis of our situation is taken deep, to the point where the great slogans Liberty, Democracy and Peace, have a definite content and are shown to be truly interdependent. Hold them superficially, at the level of airy abstraction, and (however much we believe they are identical) we advocate them in forms which are mutually destructive. Too many pacifists, or too many of the most vocal, renounce war, but do not renounce the social and economic organization, and the modes of thought and habits of behaviour, which make for war.

The positive social philosophy which Huxley expounds with beautiful lucidity conflicts at no point with the findings of our own committee on International, Industrial and Social Order—incidentally, he pays a deserved tribute to the work of Wilfred Wellock—but it has the advantage of being the work of a single mind and a practised and persuasive writer. And his book comes at a crucial moment in the development of pacifism. It speaks to our frustration.

With this positive social philosophy at its centre, pacifism would be liberated from the Devourers—those who (as Blake said) see only the part and fancy that the whole. It would become once more the home of the Prolific (to whom our rare spirits have all belonged, from Jesus and Tolstoi and Gandhi to Dick Sheppard and Eric Gill and Max Plowman). The greedy, clamorous and egoistic parts would fall into a pattern of mutual aid and fraternal corroboration. The defenders of Democracy, the anti-Conscriptionists, the students of non-violence, the community-pioneers, the Service Units, the back-to-the-landers, the anti-Imperialists, the Savers of Europe Now—would have such an understanding and appreciation of one another that they would laugh at the idea of imposing a single policy on each other by a majority vote.

IS it too late, even now, for our movement to assert its essential positiveness? Can we not, even now, disengage ourselves from the sterile backward movement to positions which were obsolete ten years ago, and from which Dick Sheppard's influence rescued British pacifism? Aldous Huxley has been remote from our internal dissensions. He has been thinking in isolation from our experiences. It is the more significant that his conclusions comprehend, in a living whole, the diverse but related aims for which the most eager of our members have sought recognition from the movement, and fallen off because they have not found it.

Liberty, Democracy and Peace are incompatible with the mass-society: with its centralization of power, and its perversion of applied science to anti-human ends. A minority movement which is grounded in that truth and acts in loyalty to it may be proud to be a minority.

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## HOUSMAN'S

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IN the part of his book\* which I summarised last week Huxley showed how concentration of economic power dictates the use of applied science to foster mass-production and distribution, to corrupt thought and deny human values. But it is nationalism which ensures that it shall be continually applied to improving the instruments of war. The worship of the nation-god is so slavish that not even the universal destructiveness of the atom-bomb affords any guarantee that it will not be used.

Moreover, war and war-preparation are very useful to a government for its own totalitarian purposes. Peace-time conscription is a valuable instrument for conditioning the people and for strike-breaking. Again, war and war-preparation are indispensable for diverting domestic discontent. A highly centralized government cannot afford to dispense with militarism and the threat of foreign war.

Finally, it is invaluable as a cure for mass-unemployment. The alternative is State-Socialism; but State Socialism cannot dissociate itself from militarism; and even if it could, it would only be benevolent despotism. It is against all experience to suppose that it would remain benevolent. The only enduring safeguard is that the principle of self-government shall be applied, to the extreme limit practicable, in every field of human activity.

WHAT is required therefore is a restatement of the doctrine of self-reliance (e.g., Thoreau's) with a full description of the available economic techniques and an invitation to scientists to fill the gaps. But to advance along these lines is very difficult while war remains a possibility. It will not be tolerated by any government which desires to remain "a Great Power."

Meanwhile, we must advocate and

\*Science, Liberty and Peace. (Fellowship Publications: New York. 50 cents).

## Basic Issues—No. 4

This is the next section of the draft interim report of the International, Industrial and Social Order Committee of the P.P.U.

## MAN AS PRODUCER AND CONSUMER

## (B.) Suggested Solutions

WE conceive the good society to be one which facilitates conditions making it possible for the human person to achieve wholeness and happiness, that is to say, a balanced fulfilment of human capacity. For this purpose society must provide opportunities for creative labour, responsibility, neighbourliness and co-operation. This involves the abandonment of the profit motive and of money as the measure of value.

1. On the international level, the primary necessity is that each country should achieve a reasonable balanced economy as between agriculture and raw materials on the one hand, and industrial production on the other. This would reduce economic tensions, foster economic independence and provide a wider range of occupations than is possible with an unbalanced economy.

2. Within each nation we desire the restoration of the unity of society and the responsibility of every individual comprising it. In such a society differentiation of status between different types of workers would be replaced by a mutual concern for human conditions of labour and for quality in production.

3. Such an aim will best be achieved by a system of regional economies involving a measure of industrial and commercial decentralization, by the extension of the small workshop and by the development of new industrial techniques. This will give greater opportunity to base production on need instead of on profit and to supersede quantitative by qualitative production; it will stimulate a habit of neighbourliness, foster community achievement and result in a large degree of self-sufficiency and a highly developed

economic democracy, growing from the bottom upwards.

4. In such a system each district and region will be to a great extent responsible for its own planning as regards use of land, nature and amount of industry, etc. These sectional plans will, however, be co-ordinated by the National body referred to in a later section. Certain industries also, such as, for example, railways, will have to be planned and conducted on a national scale, but rigid centralized planning should be avoided wherever possible.

5. It is essential for the realization of these ends that ownership and control of the means of production and distribution should be as widely parcelled out as possible.

6. A share in ownership and control and the encouragement of qualitative standards of production will provide opportunity to the worker for the exercise of responsibility and for satisfaction in his work; this will counteract the false importance at present attached to leisure and will lead to a raising of the level of taste.

7. Contact should be kept to the greatest degree possible between producer and consumer. Where this contact cannot be realized physically, both should be educated to widen their sympathies so as to attain this contact imaginatively.

8. Under such a regional system the major part of the food of the community will be produced in the locality. This means that the community will be vitally interested in the maintenance of soil fertility and the production of high-quality food. Agriculture will thus become a major concern in local affairs and take its rightful place in the general economy. The proximity of producer to consumer will reduce the necessity of tinned or processed food.

9. A properly balanced economy of this kind will remove both international and local economic tensions. It will therefore reduce the fears and rivalries which lead to war and will provide the conditions in which a peaceful society can be established.

—Wilfred Owen: 1917.



# Two principles that might save the peace

MR. J. Middleton Murry may be right in his prediction that there will not be a third Great European War, but some of your readers may not be equally confident. In their eyes, the prospect of this dire calamity ever looms ahead and it is their duty to consider how it can be prevented.

Force, I am convinced, can never prevent it, whether used by a mythical UNO or by a federation or socialization of the Western European states. It is useless to look to the Churches for help. Apart from a few noble exceptions, all ranks of the clergy have shown that their idea of Rendering Unto Caesar The Things That Are Caesar's is blind obedience to the orders of the State, however vile and un-Christian. Hence their failure to denounce publicly such atrocities as the wholesale massacre of civilians in air raids and deliberate starvation during the war. Therefore, we must do without their help and seek other means.

These, in my opinion, must be based upon two main principles.

1. The foul doctrine of "Military Necessity," that a just end justifies evil means, must be strongly contravened.

Successful resistance to it would ensure our refusal to use or assist atom bombing and to produce aircraft and bombs designed for the obliteration

of cities and their inhabitants. It would bar our intention to put Germany and Italy "at the end of the queue" for food rationing with the inevitable result of the death of millions of our German and Italian brethren and, if not in our own, in our children's lifetime another bitter war of revenge.

## "Security"

I am not sure that to some of the officials concerned in the present European crisis such wholesale starvation would not be welcome as providing us with greater security in the future. To paraphrase a remark made by Fr. Gerald Vann OP, no member of the Government would throw a baby into the fire, but in the war the Government repeatedly ordered thousands of babies to be burnt to death by fire thrown from the air. Can one say the same thing about the present policy of semi-starvation?

2. The precious principle of life must be stressed without ceasing.

Life is difficult to create but so easy to destroy. We must begin with the younger generation; the older are past hope. Young children must be taught how wonderful is the life of a plant or a tree and how wicked it is to destroy it unnecessarily. Teachers and parents could not do better than bring home the lesson of Shelley's Sensitive Plant. Then the children must learn how wrong it is wantonly to cut off the animals whom God has created. Lastly, after these lessons have been absorbed, they must learn the reverence and love due to men and women of every clime, who can be God-like if they will.

I shall never forget how, when I was a young ship's surgeon, the chief officer told me that his ship had once run down a Chinese junk and on my remark that of course the ship had stopped to pick up the occupants, he answered, "Of course not. They were only Chinks." That is the spirit that breeds wars.

(Dr.) R. A. PARSONS.

Highfield, Kirkby-in-Furness, Lancashire.

## THE REPORT IS SILENT

A report on food, housing and health conditions in Germany, prepared by seven members of an inter-denominational relief committee of the United States of America who made a special tour last January, has not yet been published. It is, in fact, reported that the State and War Departments in the US are preventing its publication. (Human Events.)

## I.T.T. in Eire

ONE of the organizations doing valuable work in international peace-making before the War was International Tramping Tours, familiarly known as "ITT."

In 1929 a small group of English folk tramped through the Rhineland, and out of that tour ITT took shape. By 1938 it was taking 1,600 people to spend simple open-air holidays in France, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Holland, Yugoslavia, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Plans were also laid for visits to Canada, Morocco and Palestine.

Occasional holiday schools in this country have helped to keep the organization in being. It is still impossible to visit other lands in ITT manner although 1947 may see a resumption of foreign tours.

In the meantime a three weeks' holiday school in Eire is planned, beginning on July 27, with additional walking tours in the preceding and following weeks at Newtown School, Waterford, a Georgian house in wooded grounds, with its own swimming pool. The programme also includes talks and discussions. The general problem of international co-operation will be considered, and there will be authoritative talks on the problem of Irish political and social conditions, and Anglo-Irish relations.

The inclusive cost of a week at the school will be 65s., and 60s. for a second week. Inquiries to ITT, 6 Bainbridge Road, Leeds, 6.

## Handbook of the Friends

"Friends in Europe" (Friends World Committee for Consultation, 3s. 6d.) is a valuable handbook (154 pp) of the Society of Friends. Despite its title, it contains also particulars of Friends in the Americas, who make up nearly three-quarters of the total membership, and addresses of Friends in other parts of the world.

The book is arranged under "Countries" and "Organizations," with a third section "Interpreting Quaker Experience: Quaker quotations and some short quotations from the Bible in English, French and German," with general and national Bibliography.

The total impression is of "remarkable results . . . when measured against the vastness of the fields of operations and the slender material and personal resources available." Thus is the work of the Council for International Service described, of which the conception of the Quaker Embassy ("to preach the Gospel, yes, but not to preach only") was the "original seed." The "Quaker wagon" is indeed "hitched to a star!"

## "MARK OF A BELLIGERENT"

"One war is enough," says Edgar L. Jones, war correspondent of the Atlantic Monthly, who was with the British Eighth Army in North Africa. He described the G.I.'s hatred of war and militarism and concludes: "Peace-time conscription, no matter what euphemistic title we use for camouflage, is the mark of a belligerent." (Quoted by Conscription News).

## MORE OVERSEAS PEN FRIENDS

Patrick Figgis (whose name was inadvertently omitted from his report of the PPU Easter Youth Conference in PN recently), would like to hear from anyone keen to write to someone in another country who is also interested in pacifism and world affairs. Several PPU members are writing to friends in USA, and he now wants correspondents (in English) for a young woman pacifist in Stockholm and a young Dutchman, not an absolute pacifist, who is interested in music.

Apply to the General Secretary at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## THE DEEP HOPELESSNESS

The following excerpt from a letter received by the WRI speaks—above the difficulties of language—for a significant element in the Germany of to-day:

MY heart refuses to hate a whole people (may it be my own) and to find another one quite faultless (may it be the English, which I admire highly). I confess, we are fully guilty, guilty that such great misery came over the world. But think of our youth! They grew up under Hitlerism without knowing anything else. How make them evident, that they are guilty too? And shall we always work in the negative way only?

Is it not time now, to give something? To give a new and great ideal instead of the taken one?

That this was only a pretended ideal and that war is the greatest crime—that is not so difficult for them to understand. Looking round in their whole life they see the result of this crime. But how difficult to make them understand, what means democracy, real tolerance and love between mankind? They ask without understand: "Is it democracy to take from us the possibility to work? To take us each chance to change this poor life, may it be by hard work?"

It is the deep hopelessness which is the dreadful enemy of our work, it is even much worse than hunger, which is a bad teacher too.

## and "a hope for human decency"

TO say cynically that this was nothing but the old Germany in a different dress would be to give an utterly false impression of today's processions. Mixed with that terrifying docility of German crowds was certainly a genuine idealism and a real belief in the cause of human decency.

Here and there one saw grey-haired men with the curiously shrunken lips and those expressive eyes that are the stigmata of Buchenwald and Dachau, and none could question the sincerity of their desire to build a new Germany.

—Manchester Guardian, reporting Berlin's May Day.

## Publishers' Mite

PETERBOROUGH in the Daily Telegraph says that austerity banqueting in America has begun in earnest. On the menu of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association dinner in New York's Waldorf-Astoria hotel, the following notice was printed:

"Co-operating with the express wish of President Truman, the Bureau of Advertising has eliminated from this menu cereals and exportable fats, needed in the world emergency. We know our diners will approve."

The 1,600 guests, who had paid £3 2s. 6d. each for the meal, went without butter and cream. The only bread they saw during the meal was one corn muffin per head.

★ Footnote: It has since been reported, on the arrival of the Queen Mary at Southampton, that during the trip there were "mountains of butter and thousands of rolls."

## PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

## MEETINGS, &c.

LONDON, W.C.2. Kingsway Hall, Fri., May 31, 1.15 p.m., "Famine." Sir Arthur Salter, M.P. Lunch-hr. mtgs. Programme. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

NORTHAMPTON Breakfast, Sun., June 2, "Does the Individual Count in an Atomic Age?", Minnie Pallister. SELLY OAK, F.M.H., Sun., June 2, 3 p.m., "The Palestine Problem." Mary E. Pumphrey, Midland Pacifist Fellowship.

STREATHAM COMMON, Sun., May 26, 6.30 p.m., Gwyneth Anderson, Stuart Morris.

## ACCOMMODATION

MARRIED COUPLE wishing contact another married couple wish share caravan holiday Aug. 3/17. East Coast. Box 399.

YOUNG LADY requ. acmdtn. in paying Guest Hse. London. Box 398.

C.O. COUPLE with girl (6) requ. unfurn. flat/hse., rent/buy, within 30 miles City. Leane, 11 Croft Rd., Isleham, Ely, Cambs.

HOUSE (N. LONDON) available in exchange similar property Reading, Henley or Aylesbury dists. Enquiries/offers invited. Box 402.

BED-STTG. RM. (furn.) to let. Gas fire and ring. Use bathrm. and occasional use kitchen. N.W.11 dist. Would suit business girl. Box 403.

UNFURN. FLAT or small hse. requ. urgently; son (demobbed) must attend London college.—Frisby, 37 Coram St., W.C.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

BIGBURY-ON-SEA, S. Devon. Merriville Bungalow. Vegetarian Guest Hse., excellent facilities for children and adults—some vacancies. Write Proprietor.

SOMERSET IDEAL country holidays. Visitors welcomed. Bath, Charity Ctge., Littleton, Nr. Somerton. Terms mod.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

RUSHMORE GUEST Hse., Selsey, 200 yds. from sea, comfortable homely, terms mod., early booking avoid disappointment. Brochure Victor Smith (Manager Stephen Stoner & Co., Ltd.). Tel.: Selsey 212.

HOLIDAY ACMDTN. at High Hse., Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye. Beautiful countryside, own produce. Terms 50s. p.w. inclusive.

LAKE DISTRICT. Beck Allans and Rothay Bank, Grasmere, attractive vegetarian guest houses for strenuous or restful holidays. Write: Isabel James, Beck Allans, Grasmere, Tel.: 129.

CHESHIRE-DERBYS border. New Guest Hse., every comfort, select, 4 guineas. Bent, Bewholme, Lyme Rd., Disley, via Stockport.

HIGH HOUSE, Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye, offers holiday acmdtn. May onward. Early booking advisable. Terms 50s. p.w.

## EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 5s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

## FOR SALE & WANTED

EX LANDWRKR. wishes to recommence piano studies. Would some kind person give, loan or sell at a low figure a good piano. Any offer gratefully received. Box 400.

C.O. REQUIS. watches, clocks, state price. Vinall, Bishops Tawton, Barnstaple.

SANDALS. NO coupons. Parts to easily assemble, full instructions. Rubberised felt. Smart, strong. Brown, Green, Blue or Grey. Adults 8s. per pair, children's 6s. 3d. including tax and pstge. Wilkane Ltd., Dept. 18, Eastbourne.

SHARES HOLTON Beckering Estates Ltd. for sale or exchange land, or caravan. Box 404.

HEALTH. MAGNETOM, Herbalism, Astrological & other bks. List stp. Box 405.

FEW 620 and 120 size films. 3 1/2 x 2 1/2, 2s. 6d. ea. 3d. pstge. Box 395

TYPEWRITER URGENTLY needed. Gift or Loan. Pacifist Service Unit, 56, Grove St., Liverpool, 7.

JOINER BUILT, new 14ft. 6in. modern caravan, fully fitted, suitable permanent home, 4 berth, £280. "Walden Acres," Hurst, Reading.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude, Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

## LITERATURE, &c.

INTERNATIONAL THOUGHTS by John Nibb, 1s. 6d., pstge 3d. BM/JONIB. London, W.C.1.

## BIRTHS

TO ALAN and Peggy Mister, a daughter, Christine Margaret, born May 6. Both well.

## DEATHS

EARL. DIED on Sat., May 18, 1946, at his home, 3 Molyneux Road, Farncombe, Godalming. Charles Albert, aged 58. Memorial Service at Meadow Unitarian Chapel, Godalming, on Mon., May 27, 7.30 p.m.

## PERSONAL

CARTER. TO Jim and Joan Carter (nee Clarke) on Sun., May 12, 1946, at Royal Infirmary, a son.

LIVERPOOL PSU. Garden Fete June 29. Goods and assistance wanted. 56 Grove Street.

MONEY MATTERS. Any Christian pacifist requiring financial help for land, hse., business, etc. Write fully, confidentially, enclosing stamped envelope. Box 397.

YOU WILL find true Friendship in the L. and H. C. C. Club. Parties from Sec. 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5. S.a.e.

HOLIDAYS and Friends. Join our "Travel & Friendship Bureau" and make new friends. Tours to Switzerland and Jersey—pen pals. Send s.a.e. to Directors, Dept. H.2, 254 Horns Rd., Barking, Ilford, Essex.

INDIAN JOURNALIST interested in politics, literature, philosophy, plays, pictures and rambling, welcomes friendship of London girl with socialist views. Box 394.

ATOMIC DESTRUCTION can be overcome only by Peacemakers (called by Jesus, Children of God). Inspired instructions now available, 8s. 6d., from BCM/FAITH, London, W.C.1.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Parties, stp. Sec. P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

COMPETENT SETHND.-typist with knowledge of filing requd. immediately. Languages useful but not essential. Apply in writing with photograph if possible, stating age, quals. and salary requd. to War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

CBCC requ. ssthnd.-typist to work for Sec. Apply Graham Wiggs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

ROUGH ACMDTN. good food and home for gen. help in hse., gdn., and poultry. Remote part of S. Devon. Summer or permanent. Box 389.

REGISTERED BUILDER, London, requ. skilled & semi-skilled men to run firm on co-operative lines. Box 401.

PROGRESSIVE HOME School requ. (1) Teacher 6-7 yr. group and/or handicrafts, games; (2) Second gardener, poultry, boilers; (3) Resident cook-housekeeper. Married couple with/without children considered. Apply Sec., Elmtree, Gt. Missenden, Bucks.

SINGLE COWMAN requd. for co-operative farm. Accredited Friesian machine milked. Bleasby Grange Soc., Ltd., Legbsy, Market Rasen, Lincs.

COOK, ASST. Cook and two helpers urgently requd. Guest Hses. Devon and Cornwall. Full parties. from Douglas Bishop, Fairfield Guest Hse., Dawlish, Devon. Tel. 2151.

## SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

EMPLOYERS ARE asked to notify vacancies to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, which is now receiving applications from C.O.s seeking permanent resettlement. Please write to CBCC, Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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## MISCELLANEOUS

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

PSYCHO-ANALYSE yourself under the guidance of experienced psychologists. Box 350.

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.



# INDIA'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY

**'OBSERVER' CONTINUED**

more, one must bear in mind the thoroughly disquieting accounts in the press and the Commons of the incompetence and indeed the corruption of some of the British officials in control of German affairs.

## Lippman's diagnosis

**MR. LIPPMAN**, the most influential American commentator on foreign affairs, has publicized an account of the attitude of the Big Three towards Germany which deserves mention. (His articles were reprinted in the Daily Mail, May 15-20.) He maintains that Britain and Russia, having divided Prussia between them, are now struggling for the control of a united Germany, under Prussian domination as before. The USA should resolve the inevitable deadlock by pressing for a quite different policy, namely, the establishment of a German confederation of ten to twelve different states.

Now the policy of a federal Germany has much to commend it; and we have nothing to fear if the Americans press for it. But there are two reservations to be made. First, Mr. Lippmann links it up with the French demand for the separation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany. Mr. Lippmann says from Prussia—but that is not the French demand as it has hitherto been presented. Separation from Germany is totally different from separation from Prussia.

## Federal Germany

**MR. LIPPMAN** misrepresents French policy. Secondly, he misrepresents British policy as well. For it appears that British policy is now almost identical with his own.

"The British and French Foreign offices are jointly studying a set of proposals put forward by Mr. Bevin on the future of the Ruhr and the Rhineland. The proposals are not final and will, of course, be subject to modification in the course of negotiation, but they give a picture of the type of settlement the British Government would wish to impose on Germany. . . . Their essence is that Germany, while continuing to be an economic and customs union, should be developed politically as a federation. The British zone would be divided into three states—Schleswig-Holstein, with Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck; a greater Hanover; and a Ruhr-Rhine province including most of Westphalia. This last province would be completely socialized and other nations would have the right to participate in the control of its heavy industries. This plan could work in a united federal Reich. It could equally well fit into a West European grouping, if the barrier of the Elbe were not raised." (Economist, May 18).

Mr. Lippmann is evidently knocking—or battering—at an open door. The policy he represents as diametrically opposed to the British has already become Britain's own.

## A sensible policy

**ANYHOW**, the policy—whether it is Mr. Bevin's or Mr. Lippmann's—is sensible. First, because, even in principle it is a good thing in these days to make a definite move for the decentralization of power: a federal Germany is an ethically superior form of organization to a unitary Reich. Second, because it opens the possibility of agreement between USA, Britain and France on a common policy towards Germany. Third, because the policy can be put into operation now, whether Russia agrees with it or not.

On the other side are an argument and a misgiving. The argument is that it might prejudice the position of the German Social Democrats in the Western zone, who would not be able to compete with Communist propaganda for a unitary Reich. The misgiving is that a federal Germany would be felt by Germans as an attempt to put the clock back—an effort at punitive pastoralization. Unless it is accompanied by the offer of a manifest equality of status and opportunity with the Western nations

it will arouse the hostility of the young Germans.

A federal Germany makes sense only as a member of a Western federation, in which it could play a leading and a constructive part. Deny Germany this scope, and German youth will conclude, justly, that German federation is not progressive, but retrogressive. The habits of the Hitlerian form of the mass-society will compel it to gravitate towards Russia. It is already reported by Reuter that many former German officers are being incorporated, very willingly, into the Red Army (Manchester Guardian, May 20). That is a straw to show how the wind is blowing.

## India's responsibility

**MR. GANDHI'S** praise of the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission to India is generous: it is also well-deserved. Granted the final failure of the Hindus and the Muslims to agree among themselves, the onus of offering a constructive middle way fell upon Britain. That her representatives have approached the task in a spirit of disinterestedness, or rather of positive eagerness to facilitate Indian independence, only the uncharitable can deny. They have produced a masterly state-paper.

The finding of the Mission that "neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign state of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution of the communal problem" should be noted. So should its finding that the Congress scheme (whereby provinces should have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications) would be practically unworkable, and would deny the provinces the right to group themselves for optional subjects which they did not wish to take to the Centre. And, above all, the judgment uttered in the final paragraph:

"After all the efforts which we and the Indian parties have made together for agreement, we must state that, in our view, there is small hope of a peaceful settlement by the agreement of the Indian parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The gravity and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen, but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children."

The weight of responsibility upon the Indian politicians is now heavy indeed: and no propaganda can conceal the fact that it is theirs and theirs alone.

## LETTERS

### The Unknown Child

**I WONDER** if the people of England realize the plight of the German children. The war ended twelve months ago; are we still to continue hating the people we have fought? Admittedly we must make them see the horrible consequences of war, but are we to blame the children? Had we not better think of them as victims of a small number of war-mongers?

I'm just a normal soldier serving with the BAOR. But I've learned to love these unfortunate children, and would do my utmost to help them. I have had the opportunity to visit many towns and villages in this country, and I am amazed at the conditions in which these children live, or should I rather say exist?

The reduction of food rations in Germany has already shown its effect on hundreds of people. The available bread could easily be increased if the scandalous waste which now takes place could be stopped. During my service in Germany I have been shocked by the amount of food wasted in Polish DP Camps, while thousands all over the world are starving. The lives of thousands of European children could be saved if wasting bread was stopped. We should demand proper bread rationing everywhere.

A reduction in the grain now used for beer would improve the bread situation immensely. I know all service men would agree to a cut in beer issues if it was to benefit the starving children.

The thousands of people in England who volunteered to sacrifice part of their rations to help these children should be allowed to do so immediately, for the future generation of Germany. Personally I would like to see these children in the homes of English people. There must be hundreds of British women who would enjoy having them and who would give them the same care and interest which they give to their own children. Millions are now suffering horribly. We must help them without delay. I appeal to all British people to prevent the starvation of these children.

**SGT. L. FITZGERALD.**  
11268794, 466 Bty./91st Field Regt., R.A.  
B.A.O.R.

## ABOUT OURSELVES

### Our tenth Birthday

On June 6 Peace News is ten years old. More than half of its life will have been spent as an anti-war paper in the midst of total war. The June 7 issue of the paper will be a six-pager and will contain a certain amount of "Birthday material."

In addition it is hoped to welcome back for the occasion "Owlglass," the eminent humorist, who, now restored to health, will resume regular articles in Peace News.

### Peace News pamphlets

A special Peace News pamphlet is published to-day. It is entitled "The Acid Test" and is "a speaker's case against conscription." The author is Stuart Morris, new Chairman of the PPU, and the price remains at 1d.

### Arthur Ponsonby meeting

Readers within reach of London may like to diary the date: Friday, June 21. At 7 p.m. on that day, at Friends House, London, a meeting in appreciation of the life and work of Arthur Ponsonby will be held, with Stuart Morris presiding. Those taking part include the Bishop of Birmingham, Sir Chas. Trevelyan, and Richard Ward, who is to give some readings, and J. H. Hudson, M.P. Admission is by ticket, price one shilling, from the Gen. Sec., PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

### John Barclay

**JOHN BARCLAY** resigned from the staff of Peace News Ltd., at the end of April, thereby terminating what is probably the longest continuous period of official service to the PPU. The assured place he has gained in the affections of its members was once more convincingly demonstrated by his high place in the list of members elected to the National Council.

John Barclay was entrusted by Dick Sheppard with the task of organizing the original signatories of the Peace Pledge into groups, and his name is inseparably associated with the first, and perhaps the most successful, form of organization that the PPU has adopted. Probably, he has made a larger number of personal friends within the movement than any other of its prominent figures. His resignation from the official service of the movement thus marks the end of a well-marked period, the passing of which will be felt by many as a cause of more than personal regret.

### Personality

**IS** Dr. Brunton (PN, May 10) telling us that the attitude people take up towards such questions as nationalism, pacifism, and the other principles which determine action, can be influenced directly by someone with the appropriate psychological knowledge? If that is so, then there can be few matters more urgent than research to make such knowledge as exact as possible, and widespread publicity for such knowledge in order to ensure proper use and prevent misuse to produce a race of friends.

Personality depends partly on outward influences as indicated by Dr. Brunton, but also partly on inward constitution, which determines one's reaction to such outward influences. In order to determine character and behaviour, therefore, it is necessary to know the relationship between bodily constitution and general attitude.

These two lines of research—psychological and biochemical—into the determination of human personality seem to me more important than atomic energy, because they decide how atomic energy is to be used.

**CAECILIA E. M. PUGH,**  
M.Sc., Ph.D.

"Eddystone," Amity Place,  
Plymouth.

### Reason and Pacifism

Judging from his letter (PN, April 12) John Naumann still misses my point. My object was to discover some simple basis for pacifism. Theological religion (which I do not disparage, but simply try to place in proper logical order in the problem) does not seem to be it, as there are many religions and few are pacifist. I suggested this principle: that "force is no remedy, and all problems should be solved by reason." Mr. Naumann thinks this inadequate. Perhaps so; but, in that case, we must still seek another principle. For my part, however, I think the maxim suggested above very effective if pacifism be regarded as a matter of individual conscience and gradual education of the race.

**J. W. POYNTER.**

Highbury, N.5.

## Potsdam exactly like Versailles - Layton

**BRITAIN** should never have signed the Potsdam Agreement "which is going to be exactly like the Versailles Treaty" Sir Walton Layton, Chairman of the News Chronicle told a crowded lunch-time meeting in Kingsway Hall, London, last Friday. But he told a questioner that he was still not prepared to take a pessimistic view with regard to Russia.

Earlier he said: "At this moment we have the paradox of the authorities in the industrial areas under British control straining every nerve to stave off famine and prevent a slump in coal production as a result of semi-starvation, while on the other hand we are pulling down factories and dismantling plant and machinery."

Nobody could travel in Germany without seeing how this perplexes the administrative people in that country. He thought the key to the whole problem was the Ruhr, where the mines produced nearly half the total coal production of the whole of Europe, excluding Russia. In the interests of peace and of Europe as a whole "I suggest they be put under and remain under international control."

"We must convince Western Germany that we are in general in favour of social reform and economic reconstruction," he added.

To-day Dr. Heinrich Schmid will speak on "Austria and the Peace" in the same series at 1.15 p.m.

## NUDAW OPPOSES CONSCRIPTION

**THE** National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers annual conference decided to oppose peacetime conscription. NUDAW is the fifth largest of the Unions affiliated to the Labour Party and its delegates to the Party Conference will cast its 250,000 votes against any suggestion of conscription as a permanent policy.

The campaign to attract 250,000 recruits to the Services, announced by the War Minister, provides an extended opportunity for the No Conscription Council's National petition campaign to be continued vigorously in the next two or three months.

### FEDERAL UNION MEETING

#### PEACE BY FEDERATION

Mary Sumner House,  
24 Tufton St., Westminster

Wed., May 29, 7.0 p.m.

Speakers:

**R. W. G. MACKAY, M.P.**  
**Lt.-Cdr. INNES HAMILTON,**  
**D.S.C., R.N.**

**DR. C. A. SMITH (Commonwealth)**

Chairman:  
**HENRY OSBORNE, M.P.**

Admission Free. Some reserved seats 1/-

from Federal Union, 20 Buckingham St., W.C.2.

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**Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex**

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## OUR NEW CHAIRMAN

**STUART MORRIS** writes

"The Acid Test"—a Speaker's Case against Conscription.

## THE RETIRING CHAIRMAN

**ALEX WOOD** writes

"The Deeper Challenge of the Atom Bomb."

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Each 1d., the 2 for 3d., post free from:  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1  
or Housman's, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1.